Towards a Salish Etymological Dictionary V[1]

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1. INTRODUCTORY. From the outset the guiding idea in establishing cognate sets and reconstructing PS forms has been a primary division between Coast and Interior Salish, Bella Coola being regarded as belonging to CS (see sect. 2 below). In the beginning, a parallel effort was necessarily directed towards establishing the PS phoneme system; the results were published in *IJAL 47*:323-35 (1981). As more dictionaries appeared it became evident that Lillooet and to a lesser extent Thompson (both bordering on CS) contain many loans from CS; these cases were removed from the PS file (see sect. 3). The study of intra-Salish borrowing was considerably advanced by Kinkade (1990, 1995). Yet the distribution of phonological features and lexical items over the Salish area still leaves many problems; these were briefly indicated in *Towards IV* sect. III.

The reconstructable PS lexical roots in my file number 545.[2] Some of these are represented in all Salish languages, others are scattered or geographically limited. To get some quantitative idea of geographical distribution I divided the Salish area into four parts roughly along the axes W-E and N-S, the first dividing the CS from the IS area, the second Northern from Southern Interior Salish and Be + Central Salish (minus Twana) from Tw, Tsamosan and Tillamook. The four areas are designated NC, SC, NI and SI (for "Northern Coast", etc.).

For the presence of a PS root in two (at least one Coast and one Interior) or more of these areas there are nine possibilities. In the table below the number of roots for each possibility is given in col. 1. In anticipation of the discussion in sect.2, col. 2 gives the number of cases where the root is attested for Be, col. 3 the number of cases where Be is the only Coast language for which the root is attested. (See table on next page).

The roots found in all four areas form by far the largest category (235), the next, about half as large, is the group NC + all IS (113), the third, again about half as large, the group NC + NI (52). Note that the category NC + SC (290 cases) is exceeded by 100 by the category NI + SI (235 + 113 + 42 = 390 cases), which gives a measure of the greater homogeneity of IS as compared to CS.

2. THE POSITION OF BELLA COOLA. The evaluation of the position of Be within Salish has had a curious history. The traditional view ranged it with CS (Boas and Haeberlin 1927), though Haeberlin (Ed. M.T. Thompson 1974:228) noted that "Be shows marked lexicographical affiliation to the Inland dialects". Swadesh (1950) was the first to abandon the CS ~ IS grouping, considering Be and Ti members of Salish on a level with IS and the rest of CS, which was further split up into Central Salish and Tsamosan/Olympic. Such a subdivision of Salish by itself does not imply a relative chronology which can be represented by a *Stammbaum*; for such a purpose linguistic facts (isoglosses) have to be adduced. L.C. Thompson (1973:981) adheres to the traditional view that Be "seems to align with the Coast rather than the Inland division of the main body". Meanwhile, extensive comparative work on Be was done by Nater (1973, 1974, 1977), who found -- in '73, when his work was still in progress --about equal numbers of cognates in CS and IS, a fact he ascribed to "the comparative isolation of Be within the Salish language family as a whole" (1973:9). Possibly on this basis L.C. Thompson (1977:4 = 1979) changed his mind, stating that "eventually (...) the ancestors of the Bella Coola were isolated far to the north. Probably somewhat later a

considerable group left the central body and crossed the mountains into the interior plateau country". Since then, important isoglosses have been pointed out which separate Be and all other coast languages from those of the interior (Kuipers 1979=1981:383, Newman 1980:165). Yet Kinkade (1990:202) claims that Be "is always assumed to have split off earliest from the rest of the family"; this reflects Thompson's 1977 view but is not true in general, nor have, to my knowledge, any facts supporting this view been put forward.

CS	IS	1	2 Be participates	3 Be only CS representative
a. NC + SC	+ NI + SI	235	107	
b. NC + SC	+ NI	41	15	
c. NC + SC	+ SI	14	3	
	subtotal	290	125	
d. NC	+ NI + SI	113	38	17
e. NC	+ NI	52	14	8
f. NC	+ SI	19	6	4
	subtotal	184	58	29
g.	SC + NI + SI	42		
h.	SC + NI	21		
i.	SC + SI	8		
	subtotal	71		
	TOTAL	545	183	29

Kinkade (ibid. 205) calls attention to the fact that Be shares certain animal and plant names with IS not represented in CS and concludes that "this would require contact (...) with interior groups (particularly the Lillooet) in order to pick up the interior vocabulary" implying that these words are borrowings in Be. This would diminish the number of original Be - IS cognates, tipping the lexical balance in favor of closer Be - CS ties.

As shown in the above table, Be participates in 183 of the 545 etymologies; 58 of these concern NC alone (rows d.-f.), and in half of these Be is the only representative of CS. Kinkade's sample (1990:205, flora and fauna) is indeed representative of the Be lexicon as a whole. These 29 Be items are listed here preceded by their SED number and followed by an indication of the IS languages for which cognates are attested:

Row d. (Be only, NI and SI): **0.1** nu-papnt *to boil* Li Sh Ka Sp; **1.3.1** pun- *accept, receive* Li Th Sh Sp Cr; **1.4** puλ' *come* Th Sh Cv [Sp Cr have p']; **12.2** mus *feel, touch* Th Sh Cb Ok Sp Cr; **12.7.1** m(i)l *erase* Sh Ok Cv [Sp has -λ']; **44.1.0** c'ayx̌ *fireweed* Sh Cb Ok Sp; **48.1** suk^{w}- *be blown* Sh Cb Cr; **48.3** sx^{w} *leak* Li Th Sh Cb Ka Sp Cr; **67.2** kł *fall* Li Th Sh Cb Ok Cv Sp Cr; **69.1** kłax^{w} *muskrat* Li Th Sh Ka [Sp č'-] Cr; **88.7** xil *nibble, gnaw at* Sh Cv Ka Sp Cr; **86** sk^{w}ult *porcupine quill* Li Th Sh Cb Cv Ka Sp Cr; **97.1** q'im *complete, whole, sealed* Li Sh Cb; **105.1** sq^{w}uł *bee, wasp* Sh Cv Ka Sp; **12.5.1** x̌^{w}nx̌^{w}nm *hummingbird* Sh Cv Sp; **26.9.2** x̌^{w}ism *play, joke* Li Sh Cv Ka; **List I'** tak^{w}s *willow grouse* Li Th Sh Ok.

Row e. (Be only, NI): **10.1.1** mu *weir* Li Th Sh; **25.2** nu-t'aǰʷm *bathe* Sh; **27.0** cipa *pithouse,* ʔipacut *store food,* ʔipu *to hide* Li Th Sh; **62.1** nu-sλ'ikʷ *shelter* Li Th Sh; **103.2.2** cqʷ *begin, start on* Li Th Sh; **135.1.1** ʔic *rub* Li Th Sh; **List I'** xʷp' *unhook* Th Sh; **List II' 1** Be ʔasikaaǰ *timber* Li Sh.

Row f. (Be only, SI): **24.1** t'kʷ *bleed* Cr; **27.1** cipsx *fisher* Cr; **30.1** ck'łp *rib* Cb Cr; **List I'** ǰm *bite* Cr.

Comments. (1) The item ǰʷnǰʷnm *hummingbird* in my file falls under row a. as the root is found in Ch ǰʷən *buzz, hum* but as a reduplicated bird name it belongs here. (2) The item *quill, porcupine* was listed under SED 86 *kʷil (better *kʷəl) *skin, feather, quill (porcupine)*; to the possible cognates there may be added Cw Sn kʷáləw? *skin, hide,* Ld kʷáltəd *fish skin,* kʷəlú? *skin, hide,* Tw qʷáltəd *skin (fish or human),* Cz qʷalít'k'n' Li s?úkʷal' *feathers,* Th skʷi? *porcupine (quill),* Ok kʷalt *quill*; the final -t in Be Ok may be a reduction of *-tən, cf. the Ld Tw forms. Here again, whether or not one accepts the etymology as a whole, Be is closer to IS. (3) The item sqʷuł *bee, wasp* has a possible cognate in Nk "skwêʼłł" *wasp* CV. (4) The items c'ayǰ *fireweed* and klaxʷ *muskrat* have parallels in Wakashan, cf. HEI c'a'iǰ *rope made of nettles,* HAI c'aǰm *fireweed,* NWAK c'hǰ *rope made of nettles or fireweed (?)* (Lincoln and Rath 1980 no. 853), KWA "kəlakʷʼ *muskrat* (Boas 1947:223).

To the Be ~ SI parallels may be added Be milixʷ *kinnikinnick berry (leaves were dried and smoked)* Cr mil'xʷ *tobacco* (SED 12.4 *s-manx/xʷ); forms with xʷ only in SI, with l only in Be and Cr. The Cr vowel i is regular, the Be vocalism is not.

Before evaluating these Be ~ IS correspondences we consider the relations of Be to the other coast languages. In *Towards IV,* 230 exclusively CS etymologies were presented, to which 28 are added in the addenda to this paper.[3] Be is represented in 51 of these (NB in List II 1 add under *p'al Be p'alx < *p'al-lx *come to, wake up* Ck p'əł Sn p'łəsət and the Ch simplex p'ála-; under *wuqʼʷ add Be ʔuqʷ *drift downstream*). These 51 well exceed the 29 items Be has in common with IS.

The material in *Towards IV* is limited to items found in the north from Sq upward and in the south down to Tsamosan or Ti (List II 1) resp. Tw (List II 2). If one considers the area from Ld upward 8 more items are added (cognates mentioned in Nater 1977 are not repeated here and in the following three paragraphs): Be cik' *stab, poke*; Be cikʷm *move*; Be suc'mus *barnacle* Ld c'úbc'ub; Be kʷ'liwas *brother-in-law* Hl skʷəlwəs *relative's spouse's relative* Cl skʷúʔis *co-parent-in-law*; Be xli *penis* Ld šəlá; Be qluq's *eye* Ld qələb; Be qálǰm *dig for roots* Ld sqáləǰ *clam-digging stick*; Be qʷasta *mountain goat wool* Se qʷəstan Ld qʷástədulic'a *ceremonial blanket* (IS Li only).

There are 5 cases where cognates are found no further down than Straits: Be c'ikʷíc' *sea urchin* Sn skʷíç'i? *sea eggs*; Be łaq's *edible seaweed* Sn łəq'əs; Be kʷult *porpoise* Cl kʷán(ə)t'; Be kλ'ii *short* Ms c'əc'íλ' Sn č'əč'əy'əλ' Cl č'a?yi:?əλ'; Be ?issut *to paddle* Sn ?ist, ?istečt. The first three have Wakashan parallels.

In 14 cases cognates are found in the South Georgia branch (Sq, Hl) and no further south: Be cxʷyakm *reach for st.* Sq cixʷ *reach, arrive* (IS Li only); Be łnus *two*; tkʷ'i *dig up*; t'ksn *shoot, fire gun*; c'ǰʷ *white;* kic' *twisted*; sqalq *red huckleberry* Ck sqéle; Be qałayu *gaffhook* Sq qáłayu; Be qʷłǰʷ- *hire* Sq qʷáyaǰʷ; Be ǰi- *be visible, appear* Sq ǰi? *appear suddenly*; Be ?aciwa *belly,* 7aciwlt *pregnant*; ?ismc'm *dip food in grease*; ?iłt'mł *flea*; 7lac *sea cucumber*.

Finally, there are 17 cases where cognates are limited to the N.Georgia branch (Cx Se)[4]; they are the following: Be piq' *wide, flat*; mamis *black fly*; mtm *sea urchins, burdocks*; t'apalst *cave* Cx t'áp'as; Be st'ls *cranberry*; cn- *self* Se cəna, sna *one's own* (Cx na?

possession); Be c'usm *dusk*; λ'msta *person* Cx λ'əms *house*; Be λ'i *fast, soon*; k'l *freeze,* sk'l *cold* Se č'álat *cool st. off*; Be k'mani *smelt* Se č'əmáni *small anchovy*; Be kʷpał *liver*; qiqtii *baby, small* Cx qəti? *youngest child in family*; Be tqʷnλ' *hither*; sqʷup- *hair*; walasya *lynx*.

This brings the number of cognates of Be in CS to 93, showing that Be is lexically considerably closer to the rest of CS than to IS; also, it aligns to some extent with the languages of the N.Georgia branch. Among the roots with cognates in IS there are some which have survived independently in individual languages of this extreme northern area, as they are found in quite different formations here: of SED 86.2 *kʷax*ʷ *rat, mouse* we have Be s?ixkʷxʷ *bushtail rat*, Se skʷá?xʷmin *mouse* (IS ESh kʷékʷxʷne Ok kʷíkʷxʷna?), of List I *yman *bird's nest* Be ?imanta Se yəmánułtxʷ (IS Li zəmán Th zm'en' Cr dmíne?).

Of particular interest are the cases where on the coast Be has cognates in the SC area only. There are 15 cases where Be has IS and (exclusively) SC cognates, and 8 where Be has SC cognates only:

Be ~ SC and IS: SED **3.5** Be puǰ *poke, prod* Tw cpawád *pierce it!,* cpáw7ad *pierce, stab* (Ck pəwmíl borr. fr. IS); **5.1** Be ?usp'us *lungs* Ch sp'us; **12.5** Be mnłimut *to rest,* mał- *slow* Tw bałáb *rest* Ti *wał- id.*; **12.6** Be smłk *fish, salmon,* ?amł *summer; spring salmon,* samł *sockeye salmon* Ch məłíč- *summer* NWAK młik *sockeye s.* (SIS only); **21.1** Be tix *catch* Ch tíxʷni- *kill,* tíxʷc'i *kill a deer/elk/bear*; **25.3** Be t'aaǰ *lick* Tw t'aqʷá?das Ch Ti t'aqʷ-; **53.1** Be nik' *cut* Tw dič'; **60.1** Be łǰʷm *flee, escape* Ch łəxʷ-; **80.1 Be** kʷl *warm* Tw ?askʷál *sunshine*; **90.2.1** Be ?ał?ałxʷ *hurry* Ch yaxʷá- *shake*; **92.0** Be sqapc *old spring salmon* Tw pədqəp *summer* Ti hənqe?hə́w'š *id.* (semantically cf. 12.6 above; HEI qapc HAI qabs *spring salmon*); **125.1** Be ǰʷnǰʷnm *hummingbird* Ch ǰʷən- *buzz, hum*; **135.2** Be yanc *driftwood* Ch yanc (NIS only); **149.3.1** Be ?axʷł *some* Ch ?uxʷ- *different*; **List I** Be st'winlic' *treebark* Ti st'égi *skin, hide* (NIS only); Be łukʷala *shaman in training* Ch -ikʷlaši, "łakwillix" *spirit power* (*kʷlx). In 3 more cases Be and Cx are the only representatives of NC: **10.1** Be sp'u Cx p'útən *buttocks* Tw sp'u? *fart*; **12.3** Be mnk *excrements* Cx mənáč Ch mənáč-; **23.1** Be t'um *suck* Cx t'úmut Tw but'- Ch mút'i- (inversion in SC).

Be ~ SC only: Be pk'm *mosquito* Ch p'ačé:wqs; Be mikʷłł *salalberry* Ti wič'úł; Be cactawłp *red cedar* Ch catáwi; Be c'ixʷ *five* Ti c'xʷəs; Be λ'uk' *high, moon* Ch λ'ukʷ *high, top, sky*; Be k'ipt *red elderberry* Cz č'ipt; Be skʷac- *to name,* skʷacta *name* Ch kʷacíli- *be named, called,* skʷact *name*; Be k'manwas/k'amwas *young beaver* Ch č'əmáq *beaver castoreum*.

In this way, in almost a quarter of the cases (23 out of 95) the CS cognates of Be are limited to SC. There are also 16 cases where Cx and/or Se have coast cognates in this area only. They are the following, with only an indication of the coast languages for which the item is attested: **SED 3.3 *pi/aq** *white* Cx Se Tw Ch Ti; **12.2.1 *mckʷ** blackcap Cx Tw Ch; **18.2 *tinx** *sinew* Se Ch; **30.0 *ck** *adze, whittle* Cx Se Ch; **41.1 c'akʼʷ** *light, bright* Cx Se Tw; **56.2 *łət'** *jump,* skip Se Ch Ti; **60.6 *λ'm** *cut, chop* Se Ch; **64.2 *λ'aǰ** *grown up, old* Cx Se Tw; **64.6.1 *łpəxʷ/ǰʷ** *hole* Se Ch; **72.2 *kaʔłas** *three* Cx Se Ch; **76.2 *kʷ/qʷup** *to stuff* Cx Se Cz; **148.3 *ʔułtxʷ** *enter* Se Tw; List I **c'ay** *resound* Cx Sl [Ch] Ti; **List II 1 *p'a/uqʷ** *gray* Se Tw Ch; List II' **1 *sin-kʷa** *sea, ocean* Cx Se Tw Ti; ***s-t'iq's** *penis* Cx Ti. A possible explanation is that lexical innovations were relatively frequent in the central coast area and spread from there without quite reaching the periphery (cf. also the retention of unlabialized velars in Be and (partly) Tsamosan.

The whole of IS is as peripheral as the Be/Cx/Se and the SC areas, and there are 71 SC (exclusively) ~ IS correspondences (see table p. 2). To these, the 15 cases of Be ~ SC and IS may be added.

In the light of the above, the 27 Be (exclusively) ~ IS correspondences do not necessarily involve loans by Be from IS; many of them may well be common retentions. Both possibilities remain open, and each individual item must be considered. Borrowing by Be seems less likely in those cases where there are Wakashan parallels, as with the items *muskrat* and *fireweed*;[5] in other cases, particularly the Be ~ NI ones, we may have to do with strictly local words, eg. in the case of *pithouse* and *weir*.

Consequently, all the factual evidence, phonological, grammatical as well as lexical, ranges Be with the other Coast languages. Though at present geographically isolated, it has lexically similar (though weaker) relations to its nearest Salish neighbors as have the other languages to theirs. There is evidence of an older contact with Shuswap (or a Shuswap-type dialect). Sh phonology exhibits a variant of Grassman's law: the first root-consonant is deglottalized if the 2nd or 3rd is glottalized, and in reduplications the first occurrence of a glottalized root-consonant is deglottalized. A number of Be roots have a plain C_1 with a glottalized C_2 where the other languages (other than Sh) have a glottalized C_1, eg. SED 72.1.2 *k'ip' is kip' in Be and Sh only (Nater 1977:5-6 regards such a partial resemblance as regular, ie. acceptable for etymological purposes). This has necessitated a few corrections where PS forms were reconstructed on the basis of Be and Sh alone: SED 77.1 *k^{w}up' *bar, rod* must be corrected to *k^{w}up' in view of Th k^{w}up'- *fasten by running stick through* Sp č'łnk^{w}p'č'leptn *locking bar, door*; 103.2.3 *q^{w}ic' *wash* corr. *q^{w}ic' because of Li Th q^{w}ic'- *launder*. The phenomenon is limited in Be, which has also roots like λ'uk' *high* and keeps the glottalization in reduplications, eg. k'ix^{w} *gnaw* red. k'ixk'ix^{w}. Be deglottalization is as sporadic as eg. Th l- and y- forms besides regular y and z, and like the latter must be due to influence of a (formerly) neighboring dialect. A striking formal-semantic parallel between Be and Sh is the identical -ilx derivative of SED 51.1 *łəx^{w} *draw on, wear* in Be Sh łx^{w}ilx *be foggy*. In all the cases given above of Be ~ IS cognates involving NIS (row d. and e.) Sh is represented, and in 7 cases it is the only representative of NIS.

2. COAST ELEMENTS IN LILLOOET AND THOMPSON. CS borrowings into Li and Th are much easier to identify than are IS ones into Be. In *Towards IV* Lists II 1 and 2 there are a few comments "IS only Li/Th", but these indications are far from complete. A more exhaustive listing is given below.

In general, when a Li and/or Th word has cognates in a number of CS languages, and especially if the rest of IS (c.q. NIS) employs another term, then the Li/Th word is clearly borrowed from CS. For instance, besides Li q'ámaz' *teenage girl* there are CS cognates in Sq Cw Sn Ld Tw Ch, while Sh and SIS employ derivatives of SED 89.1 xaw'tm; besides Li k^{w}tamc *husband* there are CS cognates in Be Sq Tw, while Sh and SIS (except Cr) have *sx̌alwa/i. Besides Li q^{w}al'ił *pitch* with cognates in Cx Se Ld Ch the rest of IS has *c'it'/t'ic'. Not all cases are as clear-cut as these; sometimes the IS counterparts are limited to NIS, sometimes the CS distribution of a word is more limited, sometimes both, eg. Li x̌^{w}um't *paddle* has CS cognates in Cl Ld Nk Tw Ch Ti but not in languages bordering on Li; Th and Sh have *taxmn. In CS, for *paddle* *s-q'əml is used in Sn Hl Sq Se, itself borrowed into Li sq'əmláz' *broadleaf maple* (Sq q'mlay?).

As regards the influence of CS, the cases of Li and Th are quite different, and not only in that CS loans in Li are much more numerous than in Th. Th grammar rather closely parallels that of Sh, whereas in Li the influence of CS is not limited to lexicon. In morphology Li has the suffixes -c *mouth* (as in Sq, vs. IS -cin), -az'<-ay' *tree* (as in Cx Se Sq, -i in Tw Ti, vs. IS -ałp), -q^{w} *head* (as in Sq, cf. Be -iix̌^{w}, vs. IS -qin), -mx in the 1 sg. obj. suffix of the originally causative paradigm (as in most of CS, absent in IS), -ap in the 2 pl. obj. suffix with 3rd pers. subj. (as in Be Se Sq, absent in IS), -wit for 3d pl. obj. in all forms and 3 pl. subj. with 2nd

pers. obj. forms (Sq -wit, absent in IS), -muł for 1 pl. obj. in the neutral paradigm (as in most of CS, absent in IS). In syntax Li shares with the neighboring coast languages the adding of tr. subj. endings to enclitics, the proclitic element ?ə to refer to the actor with a pass./itr. verb, the element k^{w}ə introducing subordinate clauses. In Li there has been a fusion of Coast and Interior dialects, though the IS element clearly predominates ((out of the 372 exclusively IS etyma that have been established Li takes part in 286; in 10 of these it is the only representative of NIS). That this fusion is at least partly due to intermarriage is suggested by the nursery word túta *go to sleep!* which must reflect Sq Se ?ítut *sleep* (Li ʔ^{w}uy't, other IS *?itx), cf. also the loanwords for *husband, woman's rival in love* (see below), scutáł *son-in-law* (Se Sq Hl St; IS *snak'łx^{w}), szá?tən *widow(er)* (Se Sq Hl St; IS *słwalmt).

The Li and/or Th borrowings from CS are here summed up, including the few that were already referred to in *Towards IV* Lists II 1 and 2. If no indication follows, the CS cognates are in List II 1, those in List II 2 are followed by "(2)", and those in the addenda to these lists given at the end of this paper by "(1')" resp. "(2')". The alphabetic order is the same as in the lists.

Borrowings in both Li and Th: Li ?az- *good* Th ?əys- *to like*, si?hékst *right hand*; -- Li cátawaz' Th cétwi? *red cedar*; -- Li Th k^{w}əł (*k^{w}əl) *spill*; -- Li k^{w}əpk^{w}áp, sk^{w}?ap *straight* Th k^{w}á/épix *straighten o.s. out, lie down* (SED 81.3); -- Li slúwaz' Th slúwec' *inner cedar bark*; -- Li Th łax̌^{w}- *spit out*; -- Li λ'ak^{w}áml'ax^{w} Th k^{w}əm'y'éx^{w} *root* (2); -- Li Th λ'əp *deep, under*; -- Li máq^{w}am Th maq^{w}m *swamp*; -- Li məzác *body* Th smiyc *meat*, mzec *small amount of meat left on fishbone*; -- Li pála? Th péye *one* (2'); -- Li p'ák^{w}- *set afloat* Th p'ék^{w} *float*; -- Li sa?q^{w}úpza? Th sé?aq *bracken fern*; -- Li λ'x^{w}- Th λ'əx^{w}- *brush, sweep*; -- Li sq'əm's Th q'á/ém'es *mushroom, fungus* (2'): -- Li wúq^{w}il Th wúq^{w}əl *go downstream in canoe*; -- Li szúwa Th yúweh- *clairvoyance*; -- Li zəwín' *talk to the water (as shaman)* Th ywin' *witch. sorcerer, shaman*; -- Li zax̌^{w}- Th zex^{w}-, [zix̌-] *melt* (*y...).

Borrowed by Li only: ?íλ'q'əp *gather firewood* (*?itq'əp); ?ísaw'- *chew* (2, IS *k^{w}a?); ?úx^{w}almix^{w} *person*; ?əx̌íc *lay down*; cúcin *mouth* (2', IS deriv. of ***pl**); cəl'áł *lake*; scqaz' *barbecued and dried salmon*; k'zuz *have twins* (IS ***sal** redupl. w suff. *-il't); k^{w}tamc *husband* (IS *sx̌alwa/i); líqa?, lil'q *easy*; łók^{w}ən *peck at*; sław'ín' *blanket* (2); λ'ímin *vein, sinew* (2', IS ***tinx**); λ'ánam'ən *try, taste*, λ'ánamtən *moon* (*t'...); mákən' *louse* (*məxkn, IS *q^{w}tixa?); máqin *hair*; p'əq^{w}p'úq^{w} *greyish brown*; qəmsán *put things away, tidy them up* (1'); qiw'x̌ *steelhead*; qx̌(aslaq) *many (berries)* (IS *x^{w}?(it)); q'íl- *lift up, put up* (1'); q'ámaz' *teenage girl* (IS *xaw'tm); q'ə́p'q^{w}tən *cover, lid* (1', *qəp', IS *xn); q^{w}al'ił *pitch* (IS c'it'/t'ic'; q^{w}əx̌q^{w}íx̌ *black* (1'); sútik *winter* (1', IS s?istk(^{w})); (s)xá?yu? *woman's rival in love*; x^{w}ak- *wake sb. up* (*x̌^{w}..., IS *qił); x^{w}alítən *white person* (IS ***hama?/sama?**; x̌^{w}íl'əm *rope* (2); x̌^{w}um't *paddle* (1'); zəqíl(x) *crawl* (2, * y...).

Borrowed by Th only: sc'ác'ma(?)q^{w} *gr. gr. grandmother* (2 č'...); c'úk^{w}e/i? *bracken root*; slénec' *maiden*; λ'əmx *braid*.

If one takes into account coast languages down to Ld, 17 items are added (1 Li+Th, 11 Li only, 5 Th only). Many of these are obvious borrowings, eg. Li λ'áłəm *salt* has cognates in Cx Se Sq Sm Sn Ld, while the rest of IS employs *c'ụ/ạl; Th qáleх̌ *digging stick* has coast cognates from Be to Ld, while IS has *paca? (also found in Tw Ti). In other cases the distribution on the coast is more limited, eg. Li skə́sən *messenger* Sq čəšn *send (a person)*, sčəšn *messenger* Ld čəs *send on errand*. Finally, there is a large number of cases where coast cognates are found only north of Ld (18 Li+Th, 66 Li only, 11 Th only). An example is Li szá?tən *widow(er)* Cx x̌áť'tən Se syatn Sq sya?tn Hl Sn sye?tən; the rest of IS has *s-łwal'mt. Of the cases mentioned in this paragraph I quote further only those where Be is represented: Li ?án'was *two* Be łnus Sq ?án?us; Li cix^{w}

arrive, reach (a place), cíxʷaka?(min) *reach for st.* Be cxʷyakm *id.* Sq cixʷ *arrive, reach* (Li lacks List I *kic in the sense of *arrive, reach,* as found in all IS and in Ti); Li λ'əlc *highbush cranberry* Be st'ls Cx t'əys Se t'əls NWAK t'lc/s- (Lincoln-Rath 1980 no. 428); Th qáleẋ *digging stick* Be qalẋm *dig fern roots* Cx qay?ẋ Se sqálaẋ Sq sqalẋ Hl Sm Sn sqéləẋ Ld sqáləẋ; Li qałayu *big gaffhook* Be qałayu Cx Se Sq qáłayu NWAK Gaλ- *to gaff, hook, crochet* (Ibid. no. 2184), -ayu *instrument*; Li qʷú?pəqʷ *bushy, messy hair* Be sqʷup- hair Cx qʷupusin *moustache* Se qʷupm *hairy* (IS *wəp, also found in Li); Li qʷʷástən *mt. goat wool* Be qʷʷasta Se qʷʷástan Ld qʷʷástədulic'a? *ceremonial blanket;* Li tiqʷ- *muddy* Be stqʷ *mud* Sq tiqʷ *id.*; Li xʷʷápən *lift st. up* Be ?apxʷ *id.*; Li sx̌ʷəs *fat around stomach (of deer or cow)* Th x̌ʷés- *to grease* Be x̌ʷs *to oil, grease* Cx x̌ʷəs *oil, grease* Se x̌ʷəs *fat, thick* Sq x̌ʷəs *be fat,* x̌ʷastn *fat, hardened grease* Ck x̌ʷástəl *grease, suet, stomach fat* Ld sx̌ʷəs *grease.*[6] These cases show Be falling within NC isoglosses, some defining a quite limited area. All the lexical evidence shows that its geographic isolation does not go back to a remote period but came about comparatively recently.

APPENDICES

A. Additions to List I (All-Salish etymologies)

***c(a)xʷ** *be glad, happy, enjoy* [Se cxʷinám *be like,* scəxʷín *likeness*] Sq cá?caxʷ *be glad, happy* Ld caxʷ *type of mind power* ~ Li caxʷ, cá?caxʷ Th ce?c?éxʷ Sh c?exʷ; cəxʷíl'e *enjoy one's children* Cv cxʷiltm *id.* [Cr cexʷ *pet, caress*]. For Se cf. the semantics of Engl. *like.*

***c'mx̌** *disappear, wear away* Cx Se c'əmx̌ ~ Li c'əmx̌ *worn out* Th c'əmx̌- *wear out,* Sh c'mex̌ *id, spoil.* Cf. KWA c'm'a *dissolve, wear away.*

***c'uʔʷ** *sore* Be c'uc'qʷ *having sores,* c'uuxlx *develop sores* Tw c'ə́?wi *venereal disease* Ch sc'awé? *sore, a genital disease* ~ Th c'oʔʷt *have a scab* Sh c'uʔʷt *a sore.*

***kʷup'** *bar, rod* corr. fr. SED 77.1. Add Th kʷup'- *fasten by running stick through* Sp č'ínkʷp'č'leptn *locking bar, door.*

***kʷaq'-t** *scream, bellow, weep* Cx Se kʷaq't *scream* Sq kʷáq'am bellow *(as sea lion)* [Ld č'iq'] ~ Th kʷiq't *weep, pl.* Sh qʷeq't *cry, howl, pl.*

***łap'** *cover with blanket* Tw sləp' *blanket, cover,* ləp'átəbəš *cover me up!* ~ Li slap' *blanket,* láp'ən *cover w. blanket.* Cf. SED 56 łap', 64.7 la/ip'.

***łiq'** *bury* Tw Ti liq'- ~ Th yíq'- Sh líq'- Ka laq' Cr leq'.

***pəlxʷ** *pierce, pop out* Ch pə́lxʷ- *put, force through, get well,* [pələ́wa- *pass through, pierce*] ~ Li pəlxʷán *stick out from st.,* pləxʷ *pop out (as potatoes fr. ground)* Th pəl'xʷetés *make hole right through.*

***p/p'ik'** *glitter, shine* Be pik' *bright, shining, sparkling* Cx píč'im *to spark* Se pič'ím *id.* Sq pič'm *id.* ~ Th p'ek'- *glitter* Cb p'ik' *bright, sparkle* Cv p'ik'st *shine up,* p'ik'míst *reflect, shine* Sp Cr p'ič'.

***pax** *to air* Cx pəš-t ~ Sh pexm *break wind noiselessly.*

***p'əc'** *to spit* [Cx p'ác'ət *tin can* poss. 'spittoon'] Se p'əc't *spit out* ~ Li p'c'íqʷʷən *spit on* Sh p'c'íqʷʷ- *spit out w. force.*

***s-qəp-min** *breast, brisket* Tw sqəpbíd *human chest* ~ WSh spəqmín' ESh sqəpmín' *brisket.*

***q'axʷ** *stiffen, harden, freeze* Sq q'axʷ *be callous* [Sn q'ixʷ *knot*] Ld q'áxʷ(a) *freeze* Tw ?asq'áxʷ *frozen,* sq'axʷ *ice* Ch q'axʷá- *freeze* ~ [Li Th q'ixʷ *fit, convulsion*

Th q'íxʷuxʷ *id.*] Sh qʷʷəxʷúxʷ *stiff (as fr. cold), paralysed* (labialization in qʷʷ automatic).

***q'(y)aλ'an** *snail* (item removed from List II 1 q.v.) ~ Li λ'ayáq'an'/λáq'an' Th q'(ə)λéniy Cr q'eły'ílumxʷ *earthworm.*

***qʷalc** *conifer bough* Be qʷals *needle of conifer* Ck qʷə́lə/ecəs *fir bough* ~ Li qʷal'c *fir/cedar branch* Sh qʷelcn *pine bough* Cv qʷilcn *bough(s)* Sp qʷelcn *grand fir.*

***qʷʷic'** *wash, launder* Be qʷuc' *wash (body, floor, etc.)* Li Th qʷʷic'- *launder* Sh qʷic'- *id.* (corr. fr. SED 103.2.3).

***takʷ** *willow/ruffed grouse* Be takʷs ~ Li tákʷxʷa? (təkʷ *sound of the bird)* Th tékʷxʷe Sh təkʷtəkʷəlí *sound of the blue grouse* Ok ".tstukʷám" CV.

***t'lis** *cranberry* (see Kinkade 1995:33).

***t'əp** *dark* Ti st'hšən *it's dark!* (√t'əh, vs. √λ'əh *under, below*) ~ Li λ'əpλ'əmálus *dark color* Th λ'əpλə́pt *id., pitch dark* Sh t'ept *dark.*

***xʷp'** *unhook* Be xʷp' *unhook, unravel* ~ Th xʷp'əm *rip out (as cedar roots)* Sh xʷp'ist *snap loose (as safety pin).*

***x̌ic'** *wrinkle* (cf. SED 126.3) Ch x̌íc'- *wrinkled,* ?acx̌íc'usm *face and nose wrinkled, teeth show,* ?acx̌íc'qsm *wrinkled nose* ~ Th ?esx̌íc' *wrinkled,* ?esx̌íc'qs *wrinkle one's nose* Sh x̌ic'qsm, x̌ic'sm<-us-m *bare the fangs*

***x̌m** *bite* Be x̌m ~ Cr x̌em *(id. of animal).*

***x̌ʷu/ic'** *defecate* Ti sx̌ʷuc' *excrement, defecate* ~ Th x̌ʷic'm *defecate.*

***yik** *fall (as tree)* Be ?asikaax̌ *timber* ~ Li Th zik- *fall over,* szik *log, fallen tree* Sh yík-, syik *id.*

B. List II 1 (Coast Salish etymologies south to Ch Ti)

***c'a/ukʷa?** *wood fern.* See Kinkade 1990:202. IS only Th.

***c'q'ap** *pole, spear* Se c'əq'p *long spear for cod* Ld c'q'ap *canoe pole* Tw c'əq'áp *fish spear, harpoon shaft* Ch c'əq'p *canoe pole.*

***čanat** *three* Sq čánat Ti čenét.

***s-ləw-ay'** *cedar bark, inner bark* See Kinkade 1995:36. IS only Li Th.

***λ'əq'al** *wing, feather* Ck sλ'əq'e:l *wing* Sn sλ'q'e?ən *long feather* Tw sλ'əq'ł *feather, wing* Ch sλ'əq'ł (λ'əq'ali-) *id.*

***mikʷułʷ** *salalberry.* See Kinkade 1990:202.

***miy'ak** *harpoon* Sq miáč (Hill-Tout 1900 *barbed spear point*) QUI bí?yak. Though Sq is the only Salish source, the word must have been more widespread in CS.

***ptakʷ** *bracken fern.* See Kinkade 1990:202.

***qəm** *to fold, pack* [Be qm *cover, wrap, shelter it*] Cx qəmsát *store away* Se qə́msat *id.* Sq qmsan *pack together* Tw qəbə́cad *fold it* Ch qəmə́kʷ- *bend, fold.* IS only Li.

***qəp'** *cover, lid, to close* qáp'iqʷu?ǯa *nail (anat.)* Se qəp'iqʷúyatn *fingernail,* qəp'íqʷłatn *kneecap* Sq qəp' *close, shut* Ck qp'e:qət *close (as box),* qəp'télə́m/(s)q'əp'taləqʷtəlxəl *kneecap* Sm q'pəlíčən *cover* Sn qəp'əličt *close (box),* q'p'əličən *cover, lid* Ld qp'ucid *id.* Ch qə́pc'- *close.* IS only Li.

***q'a/il** *raise (and place somewhere)* Sq q'áyan? *put on top* [Sn q'əla?əŋ *put up (preserve food)*] Ld q'ílid *load (into conveyance)* Tw cq'il *climb* Ch q'íli- *lift, be raised.* IS only Li.

***qʷin-** *hair (on face, body)* Sq Sn qʷin- Ld Tw qʷid- Ti qʷunúcin *whiskers, beard.*

*q'ʷiǐ *dark color* Tw ?asq'ʷíǐ *blue, green* Ch q'ʷiǐ- *blue.* Hl Sg Cl Ld have q'ʷiǐʷ-, a form with plain ǐ only in Li.

*q'ʷila *salmonberry.* See Kinkade 1990:202.

*sutik *cold wind/season* Be sutk *winter* Cx Se súticˇ *id.* Sq súticˇ *cold N. wind* Cw sásətəc *id.* Ck sá:tec *id.* Sn satəc *cold NE wind* Ch "sut'k" *September* Ti hənsúticˇ *(beginning of) winter,* sitíčˇ *year.*

*sin-kʷa *sea, ocean* Cx Se sínkʷu Tw sídakʷ Ti sənčˇi CV.

*s-t'iq's *penis* Cx t'iqs CV Ti st'iq's CV.

*t'əxʷ *to brush, sweep, shake out* Be t'xʷ *brush, sweep,* t'xʷulmxm *sweep floor* Ld t'ixʷ(i) *brush/shake off* Ch t'ə́xʷ- *brush.* IS only Li Th; GIT t'axʷ *sweep.*

*s-t'əxʷlm *red huckleberry.* See Kinkade 1990:202.

*ǐʷum(a)t *paddle* Cl ǐʷú?ŋət Ld ǐʷubt Tw ǐʷúb?at Ch ǐʷúmat Ti ǐéwət. IS only Li.

*y-xn *lower leg, foot* Be ?ixa, ?ixn- Cx ǯə́šən Se yəšə́n Ld ǯə́səd Tw yašə́d Ti yəšə́n.

C. List II 2 (Coast Salish etymologies south to Tw)

***cucin** *mouth* Be cuca, cucn- Cx súsin Se cúcin Sq cúcin Cw Ms şáşən Ck şáşəl Sn şaşən Tw cucíd. IS only Li.

*λ'?imin *muscle, sinew* Be λ'ima Sq λ'ə?ímin Cw Ms λ'ímən Ck λ'ə?íməl Sm λ'í?iŋən Sn λ'iŋ'ən Tw λ'i?íbad. IS only Li.

*pala? *one.* See SED 3.1.0. IS only Li Th. Unclear is the relation to Qn Ch paw Si higʷí Ti higí (all CV).

*qəlǐ *salmon eggs* Cx qəyǐ Se qəlǐ Ck qə́l:ə́ǐ, [qawǐ] Sn qələǐ Ld qəl(ə)ǐ Tw dəxʷqəláǐ *fish w. eggs in it.*

*q'əməs *mushroom, fungus.* See Kinkade 1995:37. IS only Li Th.

*t'iliqʷ *strawberry.* See Kinkade 1995:38.

*t'am in words for *clam* Be t'amas *cockle* Sn st'əmyeeq *horse clam w. white neck,* t'əŋ'səweč *stick shoes* Ld st'əbcə?/st'əbʒə? *a kind of horse clam* Tw st'əbʒa *id.* (borr. fr. Ld).

D. Corrections and Additions to *Towards IV*[2]

Correct m n in Tw words to b d. -- P. 203 l(eft) c(ol.) l(ine) 8 Tw ?upáł- R(ead) ?úpał -- rc l. 18 eliminate -- rc l. 5 up Cv R Cr -- P. 205 rc l. 3 under II Ti R Tw -- P. 206 lc l. 1-3 eliminate (item listed on p. 203) -- lc l. 20 Ch R Ck -- lc l. 14 up Se sk'amł R sk'amλ' -- lc l. 12 up Ch č'ən'- R Ch č'ə́n- -- rc l. 3 **kʷ-tam-c** belongs in List II 2 (no Ch Ti cognates) -- P. 207 lc l. 9 up 1995:3ş f. R 1995:39f. -- P. 209 rc l. 23 Sq sǐʷi?ʷn R Sq sǐʷi?šn -- P. 210 footnote 3 l. 4 q'ʷim R q'ʷin.

Additional cognates of items listed. List I: ***?aǐʷa?** Tw s?áǐʷu? *id.*; ***c'i?** Tw bipíwc'i *he's chasing a seal* (piw- *follow, chase*), dəxʷpíw?c'i *duck hunter*; ***c'm** QUI c'a?b *sharp* WAK c'm- *index finger, nails; point, poke*; ***pəqʷ/kʷ** Tw spaqʷał *waterfall*; ***p'uqʷ** Tw p'uqʷay *trailing currant*; ***k'əc'** II combine with SED 30.1.1 and add Th k'ec'éyn *wood tick*; ***k'ʷəl(c')**, **k'ʷəc'** Se k'ʷúc'ut *bend* Sn skʷaç'əł *crooked* Th ?eskʷúc' *awry, crooked*; ***łik'** belongs to SED 56.3; additional cognates Cx łəč't *give sb. a slight cut* Se łačˇtn *knife* Sn łiç'-, łəç' *cut* Ld łičˇ(i)- Th łek't *cut open* Sh łék'-,

łík'- *break, cut,* łk'ep *broken (as rope);* ***λ'apat** Ck λ'pet; ***s-pl-ucin** [Th splimcn Cv splim'cn]; ***pat** Li pátalqʷən *look like, take after,* √pat *add, extend, inherit* Th petm's *take after,* petn's *inherit a defect*; List II 1: ***?aǐc** Be ?aǐc- lie down; ***maqin** Ck méqəl; ***t'əm(x)** Se t'mšin *two*; ***t'ana/im(i)** Ch t'ánimi- *measure*, eliminate square brackets from Ti item and cf. the Li borrowings above, also Indoeuropean √meH$_1$ in words for *moon* and *measure*; ***yaǐʷ** Ti yaxʷ.

References

(These are in addition to the ones mentioned earlier, see references of *Towards IV*. For the present paper I had no access to the ms. of Kinkade's *Cowlitz dictionary*, and work on Galloway 1997 is still in progress)

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Towards IV = Kuipers 1996.

Footnotes

[1]) For abbreviations of language names see *Towards IV* (add GIT for Gitksan). "CV" after a word means the source is Boas 1925. All-Salish reconstructions are given their Salish Etymological Dictionary (SED) number as in *Towards I-III.* The writing of ə and of glottalization in reconstructions has yet to be regularized.

[2]) The actual number is larger, but some doubtful cases were discarded; even so, it is of course possible to disagree with individual comparisons.

[3]) The number of exclusively PIS roots, ie. roots found in NIS and SIS and not attested for CS, is 372.

[4]) Pentlatch material has not been considered for this paper.

[5]) This consideration is based on the fact that CS is geographically closer to Wakashan than is IS. But there are many all-Salish ~ Wakashan parallels, so that borrowing in the opposite direction or even common retention are not excluded.

[6]) This last case is complicated by the fact that there is a √səx^{w}/x^{w}as *(to) grease* in Li x^{w}ásan' Ld səx^{w} Tw səx^{w}-, with a related meaning in Ch səx^{w}- *(get) wet, damp* (cf. the meanings of SED 52.3 nụ/ạs *marrow, oil; wet*, itself found in Ch núsi- *wet*).

[7]) Additions given in the text are not repeated. I thank Nile Thompson for pointing out errors and omissions in Twana material.